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which I have already mentioned, but a large vocabulary of the Huron,* composed by Father Sagard, a good and pious French Missionary, but of very limited abilities, and who also resided too short a time among that nation to be able to give a correct account of their language. He represents it in his preface, as poor, imperfect, anomalous, and inadequate to the clear expression of ideas, in which he is contradicted by others whom we have reason to believe better informed. Zeisberger considered the Iroquois (of which the Huron is a dialect,) as a rich and comprehensive idiom. It is to be regretted that a grammar which he had composed of it, and the best part of his Dictionary, are irretrievably lost. Sir William Johnson speaks highly of the powers of this language;† Colden,‡ though he did not know it himself, speaks in the same manner from the information of others. Indeed, Father Sagard's Dictionary itself, when attentively read by a person acquainted with the forms of Indian languages, affords sufficient intrinsic evidence of the mistakes of the good father who composed it.

III. The Lenape.

This is the most widely extended language of any of those that are spoken on this side of the Mississippi. It prevails in the extensive regions of Canada, from the coast of Labrador to the mouth of Albany river which falls into the southernmost part of Hudson's bay, and from thence to the Lake of the Woods, which forms the north-western boundary of the United States. It appears to be the language of all the Indians of that extensive

* Le grand Voyage du pays des Hurons, par Samuel Sagard, Paris, 1632. To which is added, a Dictionary of the Huron language, with a preface.

† Philos. Trans. Abr. vol. lxiii. p. 142.

‡ Hist. of the Five Nations, p. 14.

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country, except those of the Iroquois stock, which are by far the least numerous. Farther to the northwest, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, other Indian nations have been discovered, such as the Black-foot Indians, Sussee Indians, Snake Indians, and others, whose languages are said to be different from the Iroquois and the Lenape, but we are not able to form a very correct judgment respecting those idioms from the scanty vocabularies which have been given us by Mackenzie, Umfreville and other travellers. We must wait for further light before we decide.

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Out of the limits of Canada few Iroquois are found, except the remnants of those who were once settled in the vicinity of the great Lakes, in the northern parts of the now State of New York. There are yet some Wyandots in the vicinity of Detroit. All the rest of the Indians who now inhabit this country to the Mississippi, are of the Lenape stock, and speak dialects of that language. It it certain that at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, they were in possesssion of all the coast from the northernmost point of Nova Scotia to the Roanoke. Hence they were called *Wapanachki*, or *Abenakis*, men of the East. La Hontan gives us a list of the Indian nations of ancient Acadia, all speaking dialects of the Abenaki, or, as he calls it, of the Algonquin. They were the Abenakis, Micmacs, Canibas, Mahingans (Mohicans,) Openangos, Soccokis, and Etchemins, from whom all Nova Scotia, (excepting the peninsula,) and a part of the now district of Maine, were once called by the French the *country of the Etchemins*. He does not speak of the Souriquois, who are also known to have inhabited Acadia, and likewise spoke a dialect of the Lenape.

In the interior of the country we find every where the Lenape and their kindred tribes. The Miamis, or Twightwees, the Potowatomies, the Messissaugees, the Kickapoos, all those Indian nations who once inhabited, and parts of whom still inhabit the interior of our coun-

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A D 197 try on this side of the Mississippi and the great Lakes, are unquestionably, from their dialects, of Lenape origin. The Shawanos, it is said, formerly dwelt upon the river Savannah, in Georgia, and a part of them remaining in that country, associated with the Creeks, still retain their language.* As far as we are able to judge from the little knowledge that has been transmitted to us of the languages of the Indians who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, they all appear to have belonged to the same stock, the Nanticokes have been shewn to have been intimately connected with the Lenape, and among those who called them *grandfather*. Two pretty copious vocabularies of their language, in the possession of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, one of them communicated by Mr. Jefferson and the other by myself, prove it beyond a doubt to have been a dialect of the Lenape.† The Canai or Kanhawas, who have given their name to a river in Virginia which empties itself into the Ohio, are known to have been of the same stock. The Indian names of rivers, mountains and towns, through that vast extent of country, appear generally derived from the Lenape language.

A D 114 197 The Baron de La Hontan, is one of the first writers, I believe, who have spoken of the universality of this idiom; but it is extraordinary that he has not said a word of the Lenni Lenape, that great and powerful nation. He calls this language the *Algonquin* tongue, although he describes that people as "an erratic sort of savages, who, like the

* Barton's New Views, Ed. 1798. Prelim. Disc. p. 32.

† The late Dr. Barton, in the work above quoted, append. p. 3. Q A seems to doubt this fact, and relies on a series of numerals which I once communicated to him, and was found among the papers of the late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus. But it is by no means certain that those numerals were taken from the language of the Nanticokes, and the vocabularies above mentioned leave no doubt as to the origin of that dialect.

Q A [Erratum. Should be P. 5 -- Analyst]

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"Arabs, had no settled abode,"* and admits, that at the time when he wrote, their number did not exceed 200. What he says on this subject, however, is so much to my purpose, that I hope I shall be permitted to make a small extract from it.

"There are," says the Baron, "but two mother "tongues in the whole extent of Canada, which I confine "within the limits of the Mississippi; they are the *Huron* "and the *Algonquin*. The first is understood by the Iro- "quois, for the difference between these two languages "is no greater than that between the Norman and the "French. The second, namely the *Algonquin*, is as "much esteemed among the savages as the Greek and "Latin are in Europe; though it would seem that the "aborigines, to whom it owes its original, disgrace it by "the thinness of their nation, *for their whole number does "not amount to two hundred.*"†

What the Baron says here of this language is very correct; but why does he call it the Algonquin, and ascribe its origin to that miserable wandering tribe? He had the Abenakis at hand, whom in another place he puts at the head of the tribes inhabiting Nova Scotia, and who still preserved the generic name of the whole nation, *Wapanachke*, which the French have softened to suit the analogy of their own tongue, by which name the different nations and tribes of the Lenape stock still recognise each other to this day. It is probable that he did not sufficiently understand their language,‡ to have much conversation with them, otherwise, they would have informed him that they derived their origin from a great

* Letter v. † Letter xxv.

‡ He says that it is not copious, and is only adapted to the necessities and conveniences of life. These are the ideas which strangers and philosophers, reasoning *à priori*, entertain of Indian languages; but those who are well acquainted with them think very differently. And yet the Baron says that the Algonquin is "the finest and the "most universal language on the Continent."

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and powerful nation residing in the interior of the country, whom they revered as their *grandfather*, at whose door the great national council fire was kept constantly burning, whose badge was the *Turtle*, and whose supremacy was acknowledged by all the kindred tribes.

Father Charlevoix, who also speaks of the universality of this language, commits the same error in ascribing its origin to the Algonquins. "In the southern part "of Hudson's Bay," says he, "the trade is carried on "with the Matassins, the Monsonies, the Christinaux, "(Knisteneaux) and the Assinipoils, the three first of "which speak the *Algonquin* language."* In a later publication, (I think by a Mr. Winterbotham,) of which, during my travels, some years ago, I had merely a glance, I found by some words he had put down in the language of those people, that they were *Minsi* or *Monseys*, a branch of the wolf tribe of the Lenape. So indeed? one of their names, *Monsonies*, seems of itself to indicate. The name of the Matassins, means in their language a tobacco pipe, and so it does in the Monsey to this day. And they all speak the Algonquin, a language, say both Charlevoix and La Hontan, universally known for a thousand leagues round. The last mentioned author subjoins a vocabulary of what he calls the Algonquin tongue, which bears a greater affinity to the language of the Unamis or Turtle† tribe of the Lenape, than that does to the idiom of the Monsey or Wolf tribe of the same nation. I find many words in the Algonquin (as given by La Hontan,) which are exactly the same as in the Unami, while others bear more resemblance to the Chippeway, also a dialect of the Lenape, spoken by a tribe in connexion with the Delawares, and who call them *grandfather*.

* Letter xi. p. 276.

† It should be properly *Tortoise*; but this word seems in a fair way to be entirely superseded by *Turtle*, as well in England as in this country.

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fire of the Delawares, to condole with their *grandfather* on the loss of their head chief. There are tribes, on the other hand, who have wandered far from the habitations of those connected with them by blood or relationship. It is certain that they can no longer be benefited by the general council fire. They, therefore, become a people by themselves, and pass with us for a separate nation, if they only have a name; nevertheless, (if I am rightly informed) they well know to what stock or nation they originally belonged, and if questioned on that subject, will give correct answers. It is therefore very important to make these enquiries of any tribe or nation that a traveller may find himself among. The analogy of languages is the best and most unequivocal sign of connexion between Indian tribes; yet the absence of that indication should not always be relied upon.

It may not be improper also to mention in this place that the purity or correctness with which a language is spoken, will greatly help to discover who is the head of the national family. For no where is the language so much cultivated as in the vicinity of the great national council fire, where the orators have the best opportunity of displaying their talents. Thus the purest and most elegant dialect of the Lenape language, is that of the Unami or Turtle tribe.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[55] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[56] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[55] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[56] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[58] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[59] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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There can be no doubt, therefore, that this universal language, so much admired and so generally spoken by the Indian nations, is that of the Lenni Lenape, and is improperly named the Chippeway by Carver, and the Algonquin by La Hontan. The celebrated Professor Vater, in his excellent continuation of Adelung's Mithridates, calls the class of languages derived from this source, "the Chippewayo-Delawarian, or Algonkino-Mohican stock."* It is, perhaps, indifferent for philological purposes, whether a language be called the Delaware or the Chippeway, the Algonquin or the Mohican; but every body must be sensible of the inconvenience of those long compound names, which leave no fixed or determinate idea upon the mind. For the purpose of general description it seems better to designate the languages of those connected tribes by the name of their common grandfather, the Lenni Lenape, or by the generic denomination universally adopted among them, Wapanachki, or Abenaki. I have preferred the former as a mark of respect to an ancient and once powerful nation, and in the hope that her name may be preserved, at least, in the records of philological science.

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This beautiful language, and those which are derived from it, though more has been written upon them than on any of the other languages of these parts of the North American continent, are as yet but little known. The grammar of the Natick dialect published by Eliott, at Cambridge in Massachusetts, in the year 1666, has long been out of print, and is to be found only in very few libraries in the United States; Dr. Edwards's little tract on the Mohican language, although printed twice, does not appear to have had much circulation, and is not alone sufficient to give an idea of the forms and construction of these Indian dialects. Zeisberger's Delaware spelling

* *Chippewäisch-Delawarischer, oder Algonkisch-Mohegänischer, Stamm.* Mithrid. part III. vol. iii. p. 337.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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197 includes, among others, Mahican, Wappinger, and Pequot. Delawaran peoples spoke at least two mutually intelligible dialects termed Munsi and Lenape.[63] There are indications, however, that Munsi was more like Mahican than Lenape. Zeisberger said:

> The Unami and the Wunalachtico (Unalachtigo)... languages differ very little. That of the Monsys... is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders (Mahican) bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys.[64]

Zeisberger and Heckewelder[65] have also pointed out that the Nanticoke language was very similar to Delaware. Unfortunately, both Mahican and Nanticoke are extinct languages and cannot be examined by modern linguistic techniques. Suffice it to say that there was considerable dialectic diversity among the people who became the historic Delawares. Michelson has ventured the opinion that Delaware "as Zeisberger has presented it is not a single dialect but a composite," and Trowbridge concurred in this conclusion.[66] In sum, the linguistic evidence suggests a lack of unity among the people who became the Delawares, which reinforces my conclusion that at the dawn of historic times Delawaran peoples were not a cohesive or homogeneous cultural unit.

Population in the Seventeenth Century

161 Ignorance of the composition and location of all the subdivisions which were to make up the Delaware tribe, and lack of information concerning introduced diseases, which at an early date may have decimated their ranks, are enough to make population estimates of the early seventeenth-century Delawaran peoples hazardous. Mooney in 1911 estimated the Delawares and Munsis as numbering "close to 12,000 souls" in 1600, but he reduced this figure to 8,000 by 1928.[67] Kroeber has followed Mooney in using the latter figure.[68]

The number of Delawaran peoples, whatever it may have been in 1600, was greatly reduced in the first century of contact with Europeans. In the literature of the seventeenth century the many allusions to this depopulation are unanimous in attributing it to disease, war, and demoralization. Alcoholism was a factor, but it was a greater contributor to depopulation in later times, although by the end of the seventeenth century the Delawares were described as loving drunkenness.[69] In the early part of the century the Munsis and Unamis suffered heavily in the Esopus wars with the Dutch,[70] and the Susquehannocks inflicted heavy casualties on the Unamis and Unalachtigos. In 1633, for example, the

[63] C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 188-89; C. F. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 130-57.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 141-42.
[65] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 122; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[66] Michelson, 1912, p. 280; Trowbridge MS.
[67] Mooney, 1911, p. 333; 1928, p. 4.
[68] Kroeber, 1947, Table 7, p. 140.
[69] Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.
[70] Mooney, 1928, pp. 3-4.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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numbers who had perished in the endless wars, they had, long ere this, died out. As it is they have degenerated and are a very different people from what they once were. As all the Indian nations treat their captives in much the same manner, I will refer to this matter elsewhere.

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Concerning the region in question, I merely wish to add that it is well watered by rivers and lakes so that it is possible to get almost anywhere by water. In the matter of trade, this is of great importance, though trade among the Six Nations amounts to little, as they do not secure much by the chase. The nations dwelling beyond them engage much more in trade. Each of the Six Nations has its language, the Cayuger and Sennecker and particularly the Tuscarores, who came from Maryland[73] when they lived by the sea, speaking tongues very different from the rest. In the main, however, all these dialects form one speech and the Indians of the Six Nations are all able to understand one another. The language of the Delawares, on the other hand, differs so much from that of the Six Nations, that they cannot understand each other. It is much easier to acquire the language of the Mingoes than that of the Delawares.

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The country of the Six Nations is not mountainous but very level, so-called hills being of but little account. Indeed, the hills and elevations partake of the swampy nature of the lowland, even on the heights one is in the same kind of dense thicket as in the valleys, in which the sun rarely reaches the ground.

I 133

Concerning the St. Lawrence River, it is yet to be noted that its navigation is considerable, even though there are many rapids, which render the unloading of boats necessary. From Quebeck light boats are used as far as Fontenac[74] at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a distance of three hundred and eighty miles. Thence, cargo is taken in sloops across the lake to Niagara at the western end, a distance of two hundred and twenty miles. From this point it is taken nine miles across country to navigable water and thus it is carried through Lake Erie to Detroit, a further distance of two hundred miles.

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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoulican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoulican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[366] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[367] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Wopeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

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●197 and accent. The language of the Shawanose is also related to the Monsy and Delaware but, more particularly, to the Mahikander, only the former generally place the accent upon the last syllable of a word. The reason for this is that they originally lived in Florida and whether their language changed very much since they were driven out and lived first in the Forks of the Delaware, then along the Susquehannah, then along the Ohio and finally here among the Delawares, I am not able to determine, except it be, that in Florida the language of some other nations bore a resemblance to this. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawiachtanos resembles the Shawanose and consequently, also, the Delaware. The dialects of the Kikapus, Tuckachschas, Moshkos, Kaskaski the further away they lived resembles the Delawares less and less. Yet the Delawares have much intercourse with them, for many of them live along the Wabash where the Kikapus have given them hunting grounds. Every year Delaware hunters go thither for the chase and return. The language of the Ottawas is related somewhat to that of the Shawanose, Chipuways and the Delawares. The language of the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wiondats. The speech of the last named people and that of the Six Nations are again dialects of one and the same language, differing from one another yet easily understood by either of the nations named. It appears, therefore, safe to affirm that there are two principal languages spoken by the Indians of North America, namely the Mingoes and the Delaware.[209] Concerning the nations who live along the Mississippi I have no certain knowledge. They are not usually counted among the northern nations. Their language has an agreeable sound both in com-
537 mon conversation and in public delivery. The Monsy is much rougher. In their public delivery they speak with a very pompous and boastful tone, in which the Iroquois excel all the other Indians. There are, indeed, no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet the speakers must be well-versed in matters relating to their own nation as well as those of others, and they must know what title to apply to each of the other nations, whether brother or nephew or uncle. The same holds good of the

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monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[200] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuscung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun. 177

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today. [178] [167]

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware. [121] [197]

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary 177 771 764